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IS U.S. GOVT. IN FRAME-UP BUSINESS?

Hiss defense presents proof key typewriter is a fake

By William A. Reuben
GUARDIAN special correspondent

THE world's most famous typewriter—the old Woodstock on which Alger Hiss, now jailed for five years for perjury, is supposed to have typed State Dept. papers to hand to "Communist espionage courier" Whittaker Chambers—brought a new sensation last week when Hiss' attorneys produced positive proof it was a fake. It was tantamount to a definite charge of what was implied in the attorneys' original motion for a new trial (GUARDIAN, Mar. 12): that Hiss was framed. The inescapable conclusion was that the U.S. Government connived and participated in the frame-up.

In supplemental affidavits filed last week in support of the new-trial motion, Hiss' attorney Chester T. Lane pointed out that to jail Hiss for perjury the government had to show the alleged spy conspiracy continued until after April 1, 1938 (date of the last Chambers documents), and the documents were typed on the Woodstock Hiss once owned. The first new-trial motion proved that construction of a fake typewriter whose product would match beyond detection that of another typewriter was possible. But because of his new evidence Lane now states:

> But I no longer just QUESTION the authenticity of Woodstock N230099. I now say to the Court that Woodstock N230099—the typewriter in evidence at the trials—is a fake machine. I present in affidavit form, and will be able to produce at the hearing, expert testimony that this machine is a deliberately fabricated job, a new type face on an old body. This being so, it can only have been planted on the defense by or on behalf of Whittaker Chambers as part of his plot for the false incrimination of Alger Hiss.

THE PROOF: The basis for this bald and unequivocating statement is an affidavit from Dr. Daniel Norman, Director of Chemical Research of the New England Spectrochemical Laboratories—an organization Lane described as "the best in the business" in the field of metallurgical analysis.

"What were suspicions before are now translated into certainties," Lane says, pointing out that Dr. Norman's affidavit "does not merely state a conclusion" but rather "outlines in detail scientific proof" that establishes, in the words of this affidavit:

> - Woodstock N230099 is not a machine which has worn normally since leaving the factory, but shows positive signs of having been deliberately altered, in that many of its types are replacements of the originals and have been deliberately shaped.
> - Nineteen of the types on N230099 contain elements apparently not present in type metal used on Woodstock machines until serial numbers beginning at a substantially later date.
> - . . . the whole soldering job was done sloppily [and] . . . I conclude, therefore, that the type on N230099 was not, in general, soldered onto the typebars at the factory or by a professional repair man.

DAMNING DATES: Also submitted by Lane last week was an affidavit secured in England from Paul Willert, who, as manager of the Oxford University Press, began negotiations with Chambers "at the end of 1937 or at the very beginning of 1938" for a book translation which Chambers subsequently undertook and was paid for. Willert's affidavit, based on the firm's records, nails down the Chambers story that convicted Hiss as a flat lie. (At the Hiss trials, Chambers—after having sworn on seven previous occasions that he quit the Communist Party and went into hiding in 1937—switched to the story that he continued as a "Communist espionage courier" until the middle of April, 1938, and **subsequently** got the Oxford University Press translating assignment.) Willert's affidavit states:

> - He (Chambers) was strongly anti-communist and, in fact, described himself as a victim of a communist persecution. . . . [He] explained to me that he was in fear of his life as he was being hunted by the G. P. U. He gave me the impression of being hysterical and suffering from persecution mania.
> - I am sure that all personal discussions with him took place before the 18th March, 1938, and that it was well before that date that he told me that he was hiding from the G. P. U.

TWO QUESTIONS: Chambers is thus shown to have testified he was acting as a Communist spy in Washington (and receiving documents from his "confederate" Hiss) up to a month after he had quit the party and gone into hiding. According to attorney Lane, this

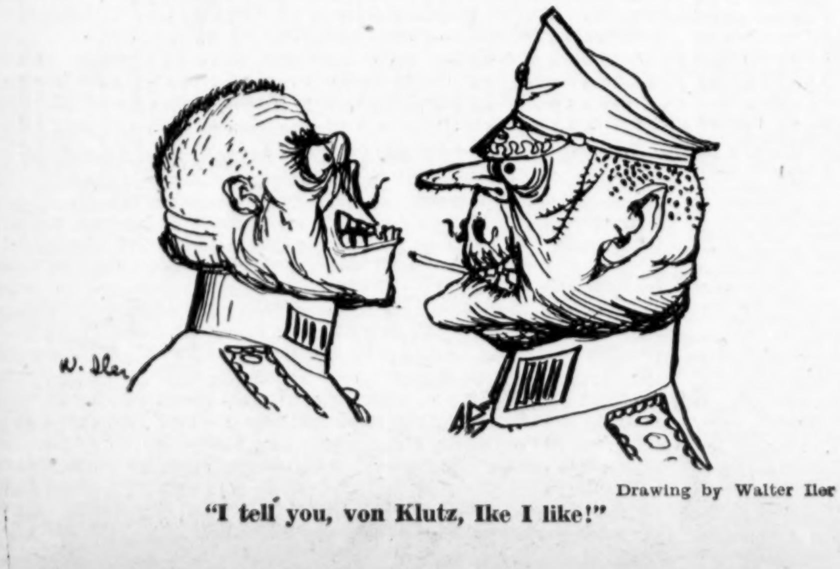
> . . . establishes that Chambers' entire testimony concerning the Baltimore documents is a fabrication.

As questions stemming logically from his new-found evidence, Lane asks: When was Woodstock N230099 fabricated? How did Chambers get possession of State Dept. documents dated up to a month after he quit "Communist espionage" work? Lane deplores his inability to answer them—and so fulfil his duty as an officer of the court—because

> . . . the government, throughout my investigation, is reluctant to allow me the materials necessary to this result.

U.S. WITHHOLDS PAPERS: Examination of the Chambers documents could be expected to show when they were typed and when "the parts [of the Woodstock] were worked over." If the documents were typed any time after Hiss sued Chambers for libel in 1948; or if the tampering with the Woodstock occurred between the two trials—when it was inexplicably taken from the court's custody and held by the FBI; then frame-up by government would be the only possible conclusion.

But U. S. Atty. Myles Lane, in whose office the documents are impounded, refused to let the defense examine them—and has so far asked and obtained four postponements of the motion for a new trial.



Drawing by Walter Iler

"I tell you, von Klutz, Ike I like!"

Watch out for the pigeon, General!

Maj. Gen. Robert H. ('Dear Diary') Grow, is shown (l.) watching Soviet planes soar over Red Square in the 1951 Moscow May Day celebration. A "lover of Tolstoy," he traveled hundreds of miles as U. S. Army attache in Moscow to the Tolstoy shrine at Yasnaya Poliana looking for anti-aircraft stations on the way. En route he jotted down little literary notes like "What a target!"

WAR & PEACE

Taxpayers get mad as vast cold war bill is presented

WASHINGTON last week tried to explain why the 35.5 billion dollars it spent since 1945 to strengthen its allies (U.S. World War II aid to allies was 39.5 billion) left the "free world" still in dire need—in fact, in worse shape than ever. Administration big guns—Secys. Acheson and Lovett, Chief of Staff Bradley, Mutual Security Director Harriman—sought to prove it was all Moscow's fault and insisted any cut in this year's proposed eight-billion-dollar foreign aid program would bring "national disaster."

Senate Foreign Relations Comm. chairman Tom Connally (D.-Tex.; up for re-election this year) shouted that foreign aid "can't go on forever."

Congress' election-year sensitivity to more spending was heightened as the costs of the hot and cold wars were felt in the American pocketbook. More than 44 million Americans (11 times as many as in 1939) last week paid the Federal Govt. 29 billion dollars in income taxes. This was 54% more than in the peak World War II year, 1945. For the individual taxpayer it meant that 22c to 89c of every dollar earned, depending on his income, went to Washington.

TAX "DYNAMITE": On top of this the government was collecting 34 billion dollars in taxes from corporations, estates, gifts, sales—"most" of which (**Wall St. Journal**, Mar. 14) the individual taxpayer paid "in his role of consumer through higher prices." The Tax Foundation, a private research group, estimated recently that for $3,500- and $4,500-income families of 3.2 persons these hidden taxes amount to $798 and $1,039, while direct income tax is $299 and $455 respectively.

Federal, state and local taxes will this year add up to 81 billion dollars or more—or $530 for every man, woman, and child. Taxes had become "political dynamite" (**Newsweek, Mar. 17**). Walter Lippmann, after "a bit of traveling" through the country, reported (Mar. 11) "growing resistance" and

> . . . a very considerable distrust and doubt of the wisdom and of the probable success of foreign policies which call for so much money. [An assault on the foreign aid program] would be sustained by a certain feeling of justification because the Truman Administration has been announcing the dawn of a new day too often and threatening the end of the world whenever it needs more money.

IKE PLAYS COY: Discontent over the cost of foreign policy was reflected in the unwillingness of Gen. Eisenhower's campaign managers to let him return to testify for the foreign aid program.

(Continued on Page 3)

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Your address-plate, now appearing out front (on the reverse of this box), tells the month and year your sub expires. "3-52" means March, 1952—THIS MONTH. To renew quickly:

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THE MAIL BAG
USM

Gorgeously fraudulent

BALTIC, S. D.

All those who were born either little Republicans or little Democrats please move forward to the front seats. The "invisible government's" stalking horses are now moving into the arena. Friends, you are going to witness the biggest, the most colossal, the most fraudulent performance ever to come before the eyes and mind of man. The leading actors are gorgeously arrayed in political plumage. They are brilliant and full of statesmanship. They are all things to all people. They are infallible, indispensable, and movers of mountains. The leading performers are Truman, Kefauver, Russell, Taft, Eisenhower, Stassen and Warren. Not one of these men has a single attribute qualifying him to represent the plain people of our country, but they are going to give you the best show that you have ever seen in your life.

Please sit quietly now, and make no effort to change your politics. It would spoil the show.

It would not be too hard, if we all worked at it, to starve this old bogus show out of existence, as it feeds entirely upon votes.

C. E. Ranney

It's not for sale

NEW YORK, N. Y.

"All over China local officials look to Peiping for orders. There is a fanatical war on corruption and waste, once the curse of China"—from the U.S. News & World Report.

Where can we buy some of that fanaticism in a hurry for use right here in the U. S.? **Sid Bernard**

Attention Polish-Americans!

KENILWORTH, N. J.

Following are excerpts of a letter I sent to Rep. Alfred Sieminski of New Jersey. I would urge other readers to write to their congressmen from Polish-American areas.

My dear Cong. Sieminski:

As an American citizen of Polish-Jewish extraction, whose relatives have been murdered by Nazis, I am very much disturbed by the State Dept.'s continuous encouragement of the Bonn regime toward rearmament, the negotiations with Adenauer and former Nazi generals, the freeing of atrocious criminals against Polish and Jewish peoples.

The worst feature is the attempt to restore to them the ancient Polish lands on the Odra and Nysa, the legitimate possession of the Polish people, where now the remnants of the Jewish victims of the Nazi crematoria have at last found a real homeland and security.

Any attempt to restore these lands to Germany would again bring untold misfortunes upon the Polish and Jewish people, unleashing a world war. Kindly inform me what you are doing or what you intend to do against the rearmament of Germany and for defense of Odra and Nysa lands. **Arnold J. Keen**

How crazy can you get dept.

Contains scientifically treated carbonated water, pure cane sugar, extractions of real cherries and other natural flavors and U. S. certified food color added.

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—Pop bottle label issued by Cott Bottling Co., N. Haven.

Free one-year sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Sender of this week's item: Will Hayett, New York City.

There's plenty to do

TOLNA, N. D.

I am enclosing amount for a year's subscription to NATIONAL GUARDIAN, also a small donation. Conditions and prices we farmers receive for some of our products are not up to parity, so it makes it hard most of the time to get bills paid—besides doing one's duty to help try to make this a better world for the common man to live.

Fred E. Schmidt

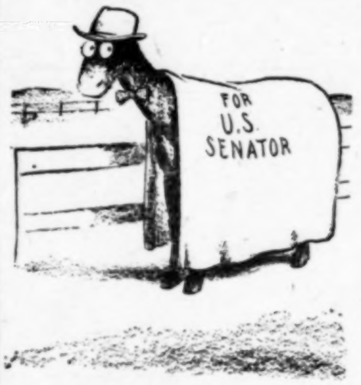
Discover the farmers

NEWBURGH, N. Y.

Congratulations on your reporting of the activities of farm organizations. In all too many publications the farmer is either left out altogether or is represented as the cause of the high cost of living. To date even the Progressive Party, and in New York the ALP, have not given sufficient recognition to the fact that farmers are a vital but economically depressed segment of our population.

Here in the Hudson Valley, for example, the price of grapes, which averaged around $125 a ton in the years between 1945 and 1951, fell to $45 this past fall. Apple orchards and currant fields are being torn out. Poultry farmers are faced with rising feed costs and falling returns from eggs. Dairy farmers in New York are in the same relative economic position as they were in 1939, the year of the milk strikes. It is not unheard of for farmers to receive postage stamps in payment for truck loads of produce sent to the city. Despite this, costs to consumers continue to rise. The farmer and the consumer alike are squeezed by the food trusts and distributors. Only by united action can this picture be changed.

The Progressive Party will be missing a bet and, incidentally, many, many votes, if it fails to recognize the desperate plight of many of the nation's farmers. **Nancy Rice**



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

MISSOURI'S DARK HORSE

Rosenberg aid in L. A.

PACIFIC PALISADES, CALIF.

If it had not been for the GUARDIAN and William Reuben, the case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg might have remained buried beneath the more tumultous events of our time. As it is, the GUARDIAN has not only revealed the case to public scrutiny, but has indicated the direct relationship between the savage sentence and those very "tumultous events" which tended to obscure their fate.

With the conviction (based on your splendid coverage) that the Rosenbergs are not guilty beyond a reasonable doubt, a group of us here in L. A., under the leadership of Sophie Davidson, 515 West 41st Place, has formed a local Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. **Joseph Friedman**

On Negro representation

ST. LOUIS, MO.

The March 5 GUARDIAN contains a letter from Alicia Budde lamenting the fact that Edith Sampson was raked over the coals in an earlier issue. Perhaps she would be interested in the reactions of a Negro to her letter and the article.

First of all, misrepresentation is too high a price to pay for so-called Negro representation. To label Edith Sampson a misleader or an opportunist is a kind and generous understatement. Negro representation without reservations is damn risky business. The Administration is quite cautious in selecting the Negroes' representation. Edith Sampson and Channing Tobias are both Charley McCarthys—simply echoes for the propaganda intended to minimize the almost unbearable plight of the Negro. (One guess to identify the Edgar Bergen.)

But it's not all madness. There's real method wrapped into the machinations of some of our Negro "representatives." The members of their infamous ilk are the ones that say: "Accept me as a social, political and economic equal—but the other Negroes are not ready yet." These Negroes espouse an equality which would grant them full license, along with the white ruling class, to participate in the rape of Indo-China, the plunder of Malaya and the exploitation of the peoples of South Africa, Iran and Morocco.

Through the Negro periodicals and other media, they pressure for the acceptance of ideas that would shame Horatio Alger. Their most grievous complaint is that the ruling class whites have gobbled up everything from them and have added the insult of failure to recognize their superiority over the working class Negro. Yes, those people are carefully selected—with the same care that the Robesons, DuBois' and Pattersons are rejected. On the record, I unhesitatingly cast my lot with the latter type of representation. That the GUARDIAN shall continue to expose the Edith Sampsons is a sine qua non for Negro progress. **Thomas J. Gates**

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REPORT TO READERS

St. Harry of Key West and the facts of life

LAST WEEK-END Harry Truman broke up a session of the Key West Bourbon and Poker Pals, packed the gang into the Independence and flew north to a cold and windy New York for a speech before 3,000 editors and reporters of grammar and high school papers all over the country. Deeply tanned by the Florida sun, soberly dressed (the rainbow-splashed sports shirts were waiting his return), he stood behind a rostrum made imposing by the Great Seal of the President of the United States and said in the most earnest voice he could muster:

> "The fundamental basis of the Bill of Rights comes from the Exodus, St. Matthew, Isaiah and St. Paul. The Sermon on the Mount gives us a way of life. . . . The basis of all great moral codes is: 'Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.' . . . We have not been ashamed to work for human welfare at home and abroad."

The President then packed the gang back into the Independence and by Saturday night the game was on again in Key West—leaving for the rest of us the task of evaluating our government's efforts for the promotion of human welfare.

SINCE 1946 the government—a combination of steel-minded military men, dollar-hungry industrialists and their ever-willing messenger boys in the halls of Congress—has been engaged in a systematic campaign to replace the Bill of Rights by "legal" means with a police state authority. Since Carl Marzani was sent to jail as the first political prisoner in the post-Roosevelt era, and Gerhart Eisler fled the country to a sanctuary in England to avoid prison for anti-fascist activities, repression has been on the rise.

- To further the myth of Soviet aggression, an atom-spy hysteria has been whipped up culminating in the death sentence against Ethel and Julius Rosenberg (see p. 5).

- To break the back of the labor movement, every progressive trade union leader has been hounded and harried by every committee of Congress that could poke in its snout (see Bridges story, pp. 6-7).

- To cow the honest public servants who believe that peace on earth is possible, a frame-up has been perpetrated—with the help of a blubbering informer now collecting up to $250,000 for his "confessions"—to imprison Alger Hiss (see p. 1).

- To buttress the shaky proposition of racial superiority (read: cheap labor and a profit gouge), murder and violence against 14,000,000 Negro Americans has reached atrocious levels.

- To break the spirit of thousands of foreign born who came to this country in the hope of freedom, bringing with them the breath of freedom, legislation has been approved and stamped with the seal of the U. S. Supreme Court to throw into jail or out of the country all who dare oppose the theory and practice of the police state (see p. 8).

AND NOTE THIS: Every step of the way, with every new piece of repression, the appropriations for "legal" means of killing people by guns and planes and germs have increased. As these billions have been poured down the maw of Moloch, profits for the big industrialists have soared to fantastic heights: The buying power of the take-home pay of the worker has dropped; the little farmer is being shoved off his land; the housewife is being squeezed out of house and shop by high prices.

The link between repression and guns and profits is very clear: the voice of liberty is the voice of peace; in the madness of our government's policy, it is a threat to guns and therefore to profits.

WHERE DOES THE GUARDIAN fit in? The threat of the Moloch is very real, but reality has never fazed us. We think we've been facing up to it ever since we set up shop in October, 1948, and we've been fighting back (just look through this issue) with everything we've got. And we've got plenty: the most aware, the most stout-hearted readership that ever blessed any newspaper anywhere.

Our job is to give this fighting force the ammunition of information—especially in this election year with Progressive Party candidates in the field to give America an alternative to insanity.

But the starkest fact about reality is that it is very, very real; and the reality of our current fiscal situation can be summed up in two words: pretty rough. We need every ounce of help you can give—new readers, renewals, a few extra dollars that you can't spare. If you have any reservations just ask yourself this one simple question:

If there would be no GUARDIAN to give you the honest-to-God facts, where would you go to get them? **THE EDITORS**

Taxpayers mad over cold war bill

(Continued from Page 1)

One of his backers told the **Wall St. Journal** (Mar. 14): "It would be politically disastrous."

His 4-to-3 victory over Taft in New Hampshire primaries was enough to set the Eisenhower Presidential juggernaut rolling. The general, just back from Germany where he expressed the [illegible]e German troops could take part [illegible] army maneuvers this fall, conferred in Paris with Ford Foundation pres. Paul Hoffman and Gen. Lucius Clay, board chairman of the Morgan-Goldman Sachs Continental Can Co. and director of Morgan's worldwide Newmont Mining Co. Backed by all top financial groups (Morgan, Rockefeller, Guggenheim, Mellon, Kuhn Loeb), Eisenhower—identified since 1945 with the military-big business clique which took over the government when FDR died—is clearly committed to its policies, whatever he may finally choose to say on specific issues. Walter Lippmann (Mar. 17) said his stand on issues was irrelevant since his mission is

> . . . to re-unite the American people, to heal their divisions, to assuage the bitterness of regions, of classes and of sects.

(Hitler's mission was described before 1933 in the same terms.)

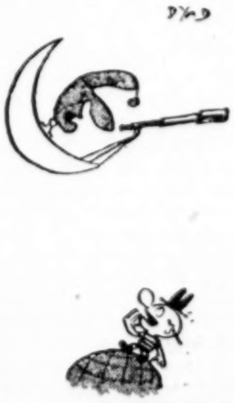
THE UNPRIMED PUMP: What these policies have meant was suggested by a **Wall St. Journal** review of Washington's foreign policy (Mar. 10) which found that "not since antiquity will you find a record of failure so great and so costly for the world." It recalled the series of steps taken since the Marshall Plan, each more costly and complicated and each one of which "promised to be the last and to take us nearer to peace." But "the promise of peace is not closer but farther away."

The billions Washington spent to arm itself and its allies in an acknowledged effort to prime the pump of business [illegible]e proving dubiously successful even [illegible]hat. Said **Business Week** (Mar. 8):

> Arms output hasn't been the stimulant that was expected. . . . [There is] a real worry about a recession in Washington. Government economists think it could start with the dumping of inventories to beat possible price drops. . . . Washington fears there might be cuts in production.

European economies totter

THROUGHOUT the "free world" the shadow of economic crisis darkened. Melchior Palyi, Chicago economist back from a European survey, said: "It is not correct to say Britain and France are heading for bankruptcy. They are bankrupt." Both countries in recent months have drastically slashed im[illegible]ts in an effort to balance their international trade payments, thrown out of kilter by U.S.-dictated trade policies and rearmament. These cuts, while unsuccessful in restoring trade balances (British gold and dollar reserves are down to $1,770,000,000, indicating no letup in the rate of the monthly drain) produced unemployment in Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands. They in turn suffered similar payments difficulties, forcing cuts of their own, spreading unemployment still further.



Daily Worker, London

"Wot's the latest cost of living index?"

Australia's 50% slash in imports last week (80% of its imports from Britain) spelt the end of Australian orders for British cars, for textiles from Britain's already-depressed textile industry, for steel from Belgium. South Africa followed with a 60% imports slash, adding to the wave of contraction throughout the capitalist world. In Japan declining exports brought a 40% reduction in cotton-mill operation, with similar cuts expected in steel production, chemical fertilizer and soap.

In France where "the economy is suffering from every disease at once [and] the middle class has been impoverished to the point of extinction" (London **Banker**, Feb., 1952) officials were privately predicting

> . . . large-scale shutdowns of factories as a result of cuts in the Government's investment program necessitated by the heavier burden of rearmament (N.Y. Times, Mar. 7).

FEARED SOLUTION: A prime factor behind the crisis was the U.S.-dictated blockade of the U.S.S.R., Eastern Europe and China. The Intl. Economic Conference to promote East-West trade, to be held in Moscow next month, inevitably evoked broad response among West European business leaders, but the governments of Washington's allies obediently refused to send official delegations. France's **Le Monde** commented:

> What Washington is afraid of is that European industrialists might come back loaded with orders and revolt against the proscriptions imposed against them.

But unofficial delegations of businessmen from all over the world intended to go to the conference, which delegates to the UN Economic Commission for Europe in Geneva were reported to regard as one of the major Soviet-backed moves for settlement of international tensions. Secy. Acheson's denunciation of the conference seemed to be frightening off the handful of U.S. businessmen who had planned to attend.

VIOLENCE FOR PROFIT: Western economic problems were matched by political problems, but Washington was reported unanimously happy about the British budget (see p. 9); "reacted enthusiastically" to the signing of a military aid pact with Brazil (it has similar pacts with Cuba, Ecuador, Peru but Mexico recently refused to sign up); viewed with equanimity the forcible overthrow of the government of Cuba by Fulgencio Batista. The **Wall St. Journal** (Mar. 11) said Batista was expected to "give businessmen a better break" and sugar interests "may fare better." (A 1950 UN report showed that U.S. interests own 55% of Cuban sugar, most of its manganese; Anglo-U.S., 80% of its railways; Morgan's American & Foreign Power, 95% of its power industry; Morgan's telephone interests, all but 7,000 of 93,000 phones in use; U.S. steel companies, 90% of its iron ore; Anglo-Canadian-U.S. interests, 3/5 of its bank deposits.)

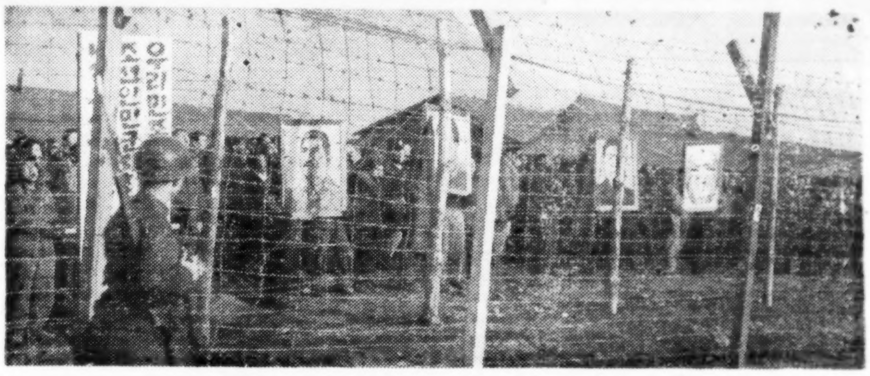
El Tiempo, Colombia's chief newspaper, commented on the Cuban coup in relation to the chain of U.S.-approved forcible overthrows of Latin American governments (which includes Colombia iself):

> If machinery instead of arms were given to these countries; tractors instead of machine guns; seeds instead of bullets . . . democracy would still prevail. . . . But instead of that we see the militarization of Cuba and other Latin American countries governed by dictatorships. The remaining democratic Latin American countries cannot view the phenomenon with indifference.

CANADA RESTIVE: But mounting political problems overshadowed these pleasant moments for cold warriors. **U.S. News** complained (Mar. 14) that the price for allies was going up and "allies do not stay bought." R. H. Shackford (**N.Y. World-Telegram**, Mar. 10) ruefully admitted that "millions of Europeans . . . say the U.S. is leading the world into bankruptcy and World War III."

Even Canada, least troublesome of U.S. allies and only one that pays its way, produced voices of dissent. Co-operative Commonwealth Fedn. leader Coldwell called Lisbon goals unrealistic, urged more sensible policies. In Parliament

> . . . a number of speakers . . . have shown . . . that they are firmly determined to hold on to the complete freedom of Canada and that it is up to other members of the NATO to decide for themselves as independent nations the extent to which they will cooperate (N.Y. Times, Mar. 9).



Koreans mark Independence Day behind barbed wire

Civilian internees at U.S. prison camp in Kojedo on March 1 paraded around the compound carrying secretly made portraits of Mao, Stalin and Kim Il Sung and waving North Korean flags. Last week 12 more prisoners like these were shot down from outside the barbed wire by South Korean guards. A lone U.S. army captain who protested was knocked unconscious.

Moscow's embarrassing note

WASHINGTON's hardest problem was how to counteract the Soviet initiative on Germany. To the Western Big Three Moscow sent the outline of a proposed treaty, suggesting an early four-power conference to consider "the most rapid formation of a general German government" and to work out the treaty with direct participation of this government. Later, all countries that fought Germany would take part.

Moscow said the treaty's object must be development of Germany as a united, independent, democratic state in line with the 1945 Potsdam agreement. It proposed guarantees of civil rights, free functioning of democratic parties and organizations; restoration of civil rights to former Nazis and members of the armed forces except those being punished for crimes; permission for German land, sea and air forces essential for defense and an arms industry geared to their needs; a German pledge not to enter any coalition aimed at any power that fought against it in World War II; no restrictions on development of German trade; Germany's frontiers to be those drawn at Potsdam.

THEY WANT TO TALK: This was the first Soviet proposal to specify that Germany be allowed a national army and arms industry; but the Potsdam agreement to which the U.S.S.R. has adhered implicitly envisaged eventual German military forces within strictly defensive limits. The State Dept. called Moscow's note "propaganda" and "nothing new"; allied and West German officials in Bonn were reported "quickly brushing it aside." But the note could hardly be discounted: the British wanted to "explore the Soviet initiative" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune** from London, Mar. 16), and "the French are inclined to negotiate" (**NYHT** from Bonn, Mar. 16). French deputy Jacques Bardoux, Independent, chairman of the Parliamentary Affairs Commission, wrote in **Le Monde**:

> I am of the opinion that the Western Allies cannot refuse the Soviet proposal. A refusal would place them in a dangerous position with regard to public opinion in Germany and elsewhere. They would be considered as aggressors.

Catholic (MRP) Deputy Alfred Coste-Floret, former Colonial Minister, wrote:

> We should congratulate ourselves that the East-West talks are being resumed. France can only welcome any initiative which is apt to diminish international tension.

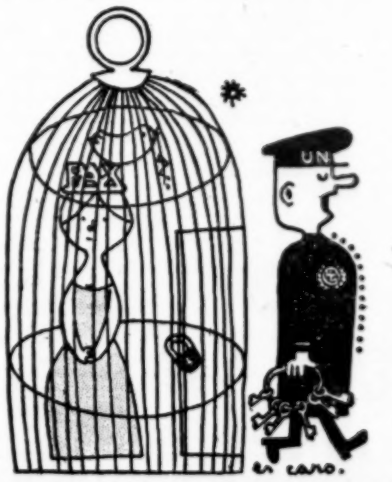
Combat, middle-of-the-road, thought "the Western powers have neither the right nor the means to discard [the proposal] without examination." **Figaro**, far right, said it must be examined very carefully and might open prospects which should not be neglected. The Right Socialist **Franc-Tireur** said "it rests with the Western powers to call a peace conference as soon as possible."

U.S. WANTS TENSION: Of West German reaction, **NYHT** reported (Mar. 16):

> The men around Adenauer seemed inclined to laugh the whole thing off. . . . But then one began to hear from other quarters which said in fact . . . at least let's take a second look at this one. If the Russians mean what they say it might be something we could buy. The people who said this include everybody from the pacifists and neutralists through the Social Democratic opposition to the Free Democratic Party within Dr. Adenauer's coalition government and even to such leaders in Dr. Adenauer's own party as Jakob Kaiser, Minister for All-German Affairs. They also include practically every newspaper in West Germany with any influence.

So great was popular reaction that Adenauer backtracked, asked that the note be studied. But the Americans "are obsessed with the vision of the 12 German divisions and do not want to be deflected from this goal" (**NYHT**, Mar. 16). The paper's Joseph Newman in London indicated that even if the Soviet Union were to agree to surrender East Germany, following "genuinely free" elections under UN supervision, the West would not settle for that price but would demand Moscow surrender on an Austrian treaty and an end to the war in Korea on U.S. terms before it would even discuss a German settlement. (The State Dept. promptly demanded Moscow sign its "new" Austrian treay, scrapping earlier agreed clauses on limiting Austria's military forces, not abandoning disputed clauses on reparations and use of Austria as a Western military base. Moscow obviously was not expected to accept.) Newman pointed out:

> A settlement with Russia would upset the entire Western Defense program, especially NATO and Western minds, after so many years of cold war, are hardly prepared for the idea of a settlement, even the limited one in Germany and all that would follow from it.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

This admission that the U.S. goal is not settlement—even on the terms it has talked for years—was underlined by an interview given **U.S. News** (Mar. 14) by Chancellor Adenauer. Asked if he expected "joint European action in support of German political objectives such as obtaining the return of the German lands to the East now held by Russia and Poland," Adenauer replied: "This has already been agreed upon."

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

ILLINOIS

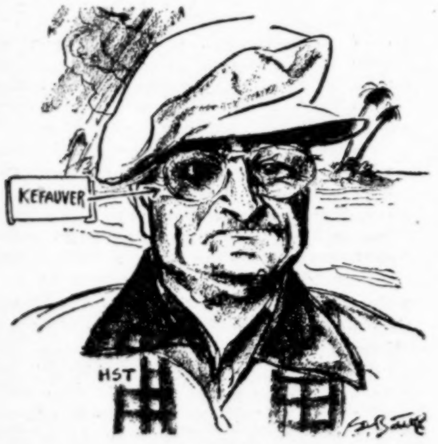
PP ballot drive on as scandal grows

THE ILLINOIS Progressive Party last week-end launched its 1952 campaign to get on the ballot, from which it has been barred since 1948 by connivance of the old party machines.

The PP's drive got under way with the first public appearance of the Progressive Party's Presidential nominee, Vincent Hallinan, since he was announced as a candidate on March 7 with Mrs. Charlotta Bass, Negro newspaper publisher, as his running mate.

PP's ballot kick-off in Illinois had for background the worst old-party corruption in the state's history. Here are some of the highlights, as reported by GUARDIAN's Sidney Ordower:

- Dr. Herman N. Bundeson, Chicago Board of Health president whose voice is known to millions through two decades of radio broadcasting, is under indictment on seven counts in connection with Chicago's horsemeat scandal. Mayor Kennelly has given the 69-year-old physician a leave of absence "with regret" to prepare his defense.
- State Director of Labor Frank Annunzio, former CIO Steelworkers legislative and educational representative and CIO-PAC director in 1948, has resigned under orders from Gov. Stevenson (who denied that he had ordered the resignation). Annunzio was found to have been an insurance partner, contrary to rules governing Illinois office holders, with Chicago West Side Alderman John D'Arco, described by the Chicago **Daily News** as "a Democratic member of the bi-partisan hoodlum political bloc."



New York Daily News

That ain't suntan and it ain't eyewash.

- State Rep. James J. Adduci was indicted last week by a special grand jury investigating "ghosts" on the Cook County payroll. One such ghost, drawing pay as James Addison, turned out to be Adduci's brother Joe. Adduci is the leader of the West Side bloc in the state legislature.
- In the heat of the "ghost payroll" probe, William N. Erickson, president of Cook Co. Board of Commissioners, has quit the Republican primary for governor. Scuttlebutt says the West Side bloc forced him out in retaliation for dismissing job-holders sponsored by the bloc.
- Sunning in Arizona with a subpena awaiting him back home is James W. Mulroy, ex-executive assistant to Gov. Stevenson. Grand Jurors want his slant on the report that horsemeat racketeers tried to bribe him with $25,000 stuffed in the glove compartment of a new Cadillac.

FOUR ANGRY MEN: On the tendency of the governor, the mayor and their administration to regard outcropping corruption more with sorrow than anger, the **Daily News** commented: "We need some angry men and women who'll stay mad."

Four Illini who fill the bill in this respect are trade unionists Matthew Bednarz, John Galias, Edward M. Joseph and James S. Mitchell, who have filed against machine candidates for State Representative in the Democratic Primary April 8. Allied as "Labor Candidates to Break Political Corruption," the four, all shop workers at Intl. Harvester, have the backing of CIO, AFL and independent unions, as well as their own locals.

FIVE OF THE FIFTEEN AT THE CALIFORNIA TRIAL

L. to r.: Mary Bernadette Doyle, Frank Spector, Dorothy Healey Connolly, Philip (Slim) Connolly, Ben Dobbs.

PENNSYLVANIA

2 candidates picked

NOMINATED by petition in Pennsylvania along with Progressive Party national candidates were Elizabeth P. Frazier of Philadelphia for U.S. Senator and David P. Widamen for Congressman from the 4th District. Miss Frazier is a business woman and active in Episcopal Church affairs. Widamen is a World War II vet and trade unionist.

Announcing Mr. Widamen's candidacy, Phila. PP leader Alice F. Liveright said:

> We are very proud to have been able to put the only Negro candidate running for Congress on the ballot on our party line. We shall do everything in our power to roll up a significant vote in the interest of guaranteeing a Negro Congressman from Philadelphia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE AND VERMONT Progressive Parties began reorganizing for '52 under the leadership of Mrs. Irma C. Otto of Center Sandwich, N. H., and Helen H. MacMartin, 55 Harrington Ter., Burlington, Vt. Vermont is planning a statewide meeting on Sunday, May 4, either at Rutland or White River Junction.

THE NATION

Smith Act trials in Baltimore, N. Y., L. A.

TRIAL of six Smith Act defendants in Baltimore, Md., got off to a fast start last week; Federal Judge W. Calvin Chestnut indicated he would keep up the speed. With mass questioning of veniremen, a jury was selected in one day. A request for a one-day adjournment so one of the defense attorneys could look after another of his cases in another court was denied. At one point in the questioning of government witness John Lautner, the judge broke in to demand a Yes or No answer to the proposition that the Communist Party advocates overthrow of the government by force; the witness replied: "Yes." Lautner, expelled from the CP in 1950, has since worked for both the **FBI** ($20 a day) and the Justice Dept. ($25 a day). He last appeared as a witness against 15 Smith Act defendants in Los Angeles.

First Baltimore witness was Paul Crouch, ex-Communist who has testified for the government for years (see p. 7). He, too, said the CP advocates violence, but admitted that in 1940 before the Tennessee Election Board he had testified to the opposite.

THE PAPER MOUNTAIN: In New York the defense for 16 CP leaders who go on trial March 31 won a point only to lose it. Federal Judge Edward J. Dimock, assigned to try the case, had ruled that the prosecution must give the defense all the books, documents, pamphlets and papers it intends to use as evidence, with the passages specified; Federal Judge Edward A. Conger overruled him, leaving the defense the task of reading and digesting 8,600 printed pages by trial date.

Spokesmen for a defense committee for the 16 charged that editorials in local Hearst and Scripps-Howard newspapers attacking Judge Dimock for other rulings favorable to the defense were "thinly-veiled blackmail." During the week defendant Albert Lannon made public an affidavit in which he stated that Ogden Reid, son of the publisher of the N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, paid an uninvited visit to his home, "resisted leaving," offered money for material for his Sunday column called "The Red Underground."

DRAGGING IN L. A.: Los Angeles' Smith Act trial was in its seventh week, with only four of the government's announced 60 witnesses heard and Judge William C. Mathes complaining it was "dragging terribly"; some estimated that at present speed the trial might last a year. Fourth witness, like two others before him, was an undercover FBI agent in the CP since 1947, testified he received $75 a month for his pains. The defense offered evidence to show that he had turned informer to escape prosecution under a Mann Act charge.

Argument was pending on defense motions to strike out all testimony of the first three witnesses; the defense was considering subpenaing as witnesses the seven top CP leaders now serving Smith Act prison terms.

Defendant Frank Carlson was in a quandary: under a deportation order, he was advised by letter from the Immigration & Naturalization Service to "recognize the importance of making every effort in good faith to obtain passport or other travel documents so that you may effect your departure." In an appeal for advice to Atty. Gen McGrath he pointed out:

> If I make application for preparation [illegible] travel I will be accused of plotting to jump bail and will be clapped in jail. If I do not make any move to travel I am threatened with ten years in prison.

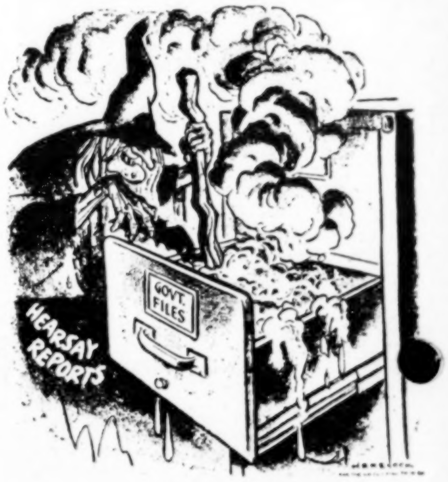
Fighting CRC's 6th milestone

The sixth anniversary of the Civil Rights Congress, which is now fighting on a dozen fronts to save the Constitution of the U. S., will be celebrated at a dinner at the Central Plaza, New York, on Wednesday, March 26. Recalling its recent struggles for Willie McGee, the Martinsville Seven, the Trenton Six, CRC pointed to the critical need for continued and greater support to mobilize the people against the Smith Act; against "the legal murder of Paul Washington of Louisiana, Walter Lee Irvin of Florida, and at least a dozen similar victims around the country"; for defense of militant trade leaders, and to compel a UN hearing of CRC charges against the U.S. government contained in **We Charge Genocide.** All New York progressives who can possibly attend are asked to send for tickets for the dinner ($5 a head) to CRC, 23 W. 26th St., N. Y. C. 10.

William L. Patterson, exec. secy. of CRC, is about to go on trial for the second time in Washington on a contempt of Congress charges arising out of a House Lobbying Committee hearing at which Rep. Lanham (D-Ga.) called him a "God damned black son of a bitch" and tried to assault him. **At GUARDIAN press time the trial was set to start March 19.**

Citizens' group to defend '16' formed

A BROAD Citizens' Emergency Defense Committee for the 16 Communist leaders facing trial in New York under the Smith Act came into being last week-end headed by former Deputy Commissioner of Welfare Clifford T. McAvoy and a dozen nationally prominent founding sponsors and including 437 individuals from among some 700 attending the March 16 founding session. A public meeting Sunday evening, addressed by Mrs. Charlotta Bass (Progressive Party candidate for Vice-Pres.), Paul Robeson and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, one of the 16 defendants, was attended by more than 1,000 people.



Herblock in Washington Post

". . . Adder's fork, and blind-worm's sting, lizard's leg, and howlet's wing . . ."

Former Cong. Vito Marcantonio, chairman of the N. Y. American Labor Party, keynoted the founding session with a call for defense of the 16 as a first line of attack and for nullification and repeal of the Smith Act as the citizenry in other eras dealt with the Alien and Sedition laws and the Fugitive Slave Act.

"LET MY PEOPLE GO": Mrs. Bass, retired publisher of the California **Eagle,** oldest Negro weekly in the West, endeared herself to the audience with a witty, scrappy speech in which she announced an unending fight against a concentration camp future in America.

"If that is overthrowing the government," she declared, "it's overthrowing the part of the government we don't need."

Her campaign slogan, she said, would be "Let my people go."

Robeson, publisher of **Freedom,** stressed the deep significance of Mrs. Bass's candidacy in developing a people's fight against repression and discussed his own court fight against the State Dept. for lifting his passport and refusing to let him visit Canada, where no passport is required. He said he would try to visit Canada again and

> "this time there will be 15,000 people on our side of the border and 15,000 on the Canadian side, and if I don't get across, we'll all just talk it over, right then and there."

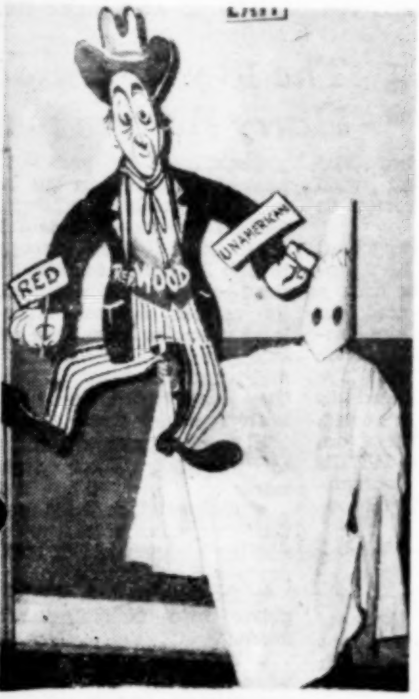
The new defense committee will initiate a program for defense funds and possible action for the 16 and for the

> quashing of all outstanding indictments, for the amnesty and restoration of civil rights of all persons imprisoned or penalized under the Smith Act.

FREEDOMS

Un-AC hunts Negroes, Ford Local militants

THE House Un-American Activities Committee had two targets for its Detroit hearings (concluded last week): militant Negro leaders, and the powerful Ford Local 600 of the United Auto Workers. As the committee went back to Washington, it could count these results: the Detroit Civil Rights Congress warned that committee incitement has made imminent the danger of racial strife and riots; the international board of UAW appointed a six-man administrative board, headed by Pres. Walter Reuther himself, to take over the Ford Local. (With 50,000 members, it is commonly described as the biggest in the world). In addition, the committee could count at least 22 persons named in the hearings fired or forced from their jobs, evicted from their homes or expelled from Wayne University.



WOOD'S SUPPORTER

This is what some Detroiters think of the Un-American Committee boss.

Reuther lost no time in moving in. By Saturday the administrative board was appointed; by Sunday five Ford Local members named before the Un-AAC were removed; by Monday physical possession of the Local was accomplished. The board has power "to remove any or all" elected officers. Local pres. Carl Stellato said the issue would be taken to the membership in a special election within 60 days.

Posting of Ku Klux Klan slogans in many auto plants was reported; in some instances nooses have been found hanging over workbenches used by Negro employes. (Detroit, with great numbers of auto plant workers recruited from the South, was once one of the strongest KKK centers; the 1943 race riot was one of the worst in history.)

STELLATO CHALLENGE: Reuther supporters gave comfort to the committee. David Averill, editor of the Ford Local's publication, testified that Communists dominate the Local and dictate the paper's editorial content; he named more than a score of Local members as CP members. Local President Carl Stellato fired him, at the same time suspending two members of his personal staff named as Communists, but challenged the international union to bring formal charges against them. He and three other top officers issued a leaflet urging the membership to "Defend Your Union."

Elesio Romano, former Local 600 vice-pres. but now an international representative, also charged CP control of the Local. Both Stellato and Reuther asked to appear before the committee, Stellato to deny the accusations, Reuther to tell how his union has defeated Communist influence. Stellato was denied; Reuther was invited to appear in Washington.

MEN LIKE LIONS: James Watts, FEPC director of the Ford Local and a prominent Negro leader, charged the committee with deliberately inciting lynch violence. Asked where he was born, he said: "In the lynch state of Georgia" (home of committee chairman John Wood). Said Wood:

> "Shut up or I'll throw you out!"

Watts dared him to try. Paul Boatin, pres. of a division of the Ford Local, also challenged the committee:

> "You are anti-labor. All of you voted against the 75c-an-hour wage bill, which proves you are against union men. You don't want the workingman to earn a decent wage."

THE ROSENBERG CASE

Overflow N.Y. rally demands Supreme Court review

A MASS MEETING which jammed New York's Pythian Temple with 1,200 people, with an overflow of many hundreds clustered in the lobbies and on the street until the end, launched a drive last week for petition signatures urging a Supreme Court review of the convictions and death sentences of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and the 30-year sentence of Morton Sobell on charges of atomic espionage. Earlier in the week, requests were filed for rehearings in the cases by the Circuit Court of Appeals, which affirmed all the sentences last month.

The people at the mass meeting heard journalists, a minister, a rabbi, a social worker and others decry the convictions as human sacrifices to the cold war.

NO KIND OF DEATH: Helen Sobell, wife of one of the victims, brought repeated outbursts of applause and a rising salute from the whole audience when she said:

> "We are proud people. We have not betrayed our ideals or our friends. But we are not too proud to ask your help. You are still free. You can touch your husband's hand and hold your children when you go home at night. There must not be a living death for my husband, or any kind of death for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg!"

Bessie Mitchell, heroine of the successful defense of the Trenton Six and sister of Collis English, one of the two still in New Jersey prisons despite the proved frameup, read a message from William Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress, and offered her thanks to William A. Reuben and the GUARDIAN for initiating the fight in the Trenton case as in the Rosenberg case.

"They have taught me an awful lot," she declared, "and that is that wherever there is injustice done, you will find me there!"

ROSENBERG MESSAGE: The meeting contributed more than $5,000 for the Rosenberg-Sobell case, in response to an appeal following a reading by author Albert Kahn of a message from the Rosenbergs in the death house at Sing Sing prison. The message follows:

We wish to greet our many friends, known and unknown, and our families and children who are sitting with you tonight. At this very moment we are trying to imagine ourselves among you, protesting, as we have done so often in the past, an injustice. We never dreamed that we would ever become a "case," that we would one day be taken from our loved ones, tried on an unbelievable charge, found guilty, and sentenced to death. But that is what has happened to us. For 2 years we have been in a terrible loneliness, in the shadow of the electric chair.

We cannot believe that we are simply victims of some nightmarish miscarriage of justice, that we are victims of a case of mistaken identity. It seems to us that it was inevitable that five years of oppressive laws, of a wave of persecutions, of heresy hunting, should lead to a barbaric sentence of death against two innocent persons.

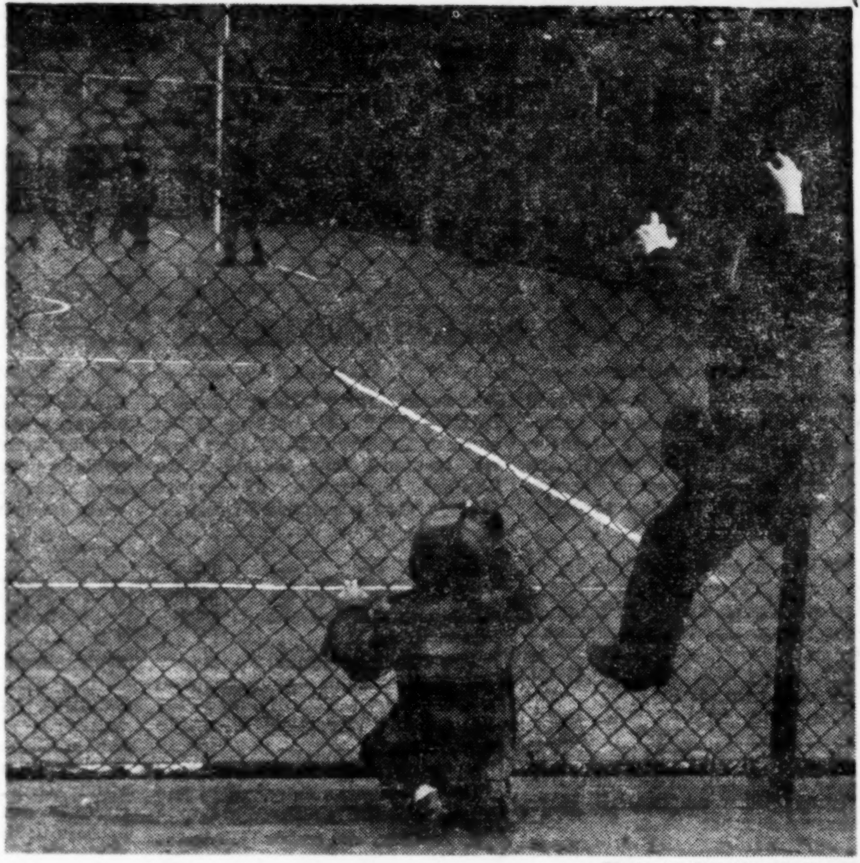


Photo by Rosalie Gwathmey

ROBERT and MICHAEL ROSENBERG

"We want to live. We want to be with our children again. . . ."

We are an ordinary man and wife, and it was inevitable that ordinary people would be grievously persecuted by the history of these past few years.

Like others we spoke for peace, because we did not want our two little sons to live in the shadow of war and death. Like others we spoke for the liberties of our fellow citizens, because we believe, and want our children to believe, in the fine democratic traditions of our country.

That is why we are in the death house today, as a warning to all ordinary men and women, like you yourselves, that there are forces today which hope to silence by death those who speak for peace and democracy.

But, you see, we are not silent today, even though we are behind bars. And we say to you that no matter what happens to us, you must not be silent.

We are not martyrs or heroes, nor do we wish to be. We want to live, we want to be reunited with each other, we want to be with our children again. But we will not pay the price that is asked of us, to betray our hopes for the peaceful, neighborly, democratic world which our children and all children need if they are to carry on the human race.

We do not pretend that we are unafraid. But we fear also for those for whom our death sentence is a precedent, for whose who, like us, may find themselves in our place, unless you, who are free today, make us free again.

We wish to add only a few brief words to our families and children. Take hope. You are sitting in the midst of good, honest people. They will do everything in their power to bring us together again, and to make this a better and happier world.

REVIEW SOUGHT: An amicus curiae (friend of the court) brief is in preparation for submission to the Supreme Court, asking a review of the Rosenberg Case because of doubt of the guilt of the accused, the inflamed atmosphere of the trial, the severity of the sentence and the belief that a judgment so unprecedented in American history warrants full study by the highest court in the land.

Thousands of Americans will join in asking for such a review. Petition forms are available for this purpose. You can, must help. Write for petition forms and new compact factsheets on the case to:

National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, 246 Fifth Av., New York City.

PP leader Marie Richardson gets a "Rosenberg" sentence

In Washington, D.C., was another victim of current persecution: Mrs. Marie L. Richardson, long a leading figure in the Negro community, former active member of the United Federal Workers, one-time exec. secy. of the Natl. Negro Congress and a Progressive Party founder and leader, was under 28 months to seven years jail sentence and a $2,000 fine. The charge: that in 1949 she falsely denied CP membership in applying for a Library of Congress clerkship.

Of two government witnesses against her, one said he had no personal knowledge of her CP membership; the other, a paid FBI undercover agent in the CP, produced what she said was a membership card but admitted she herself had written Mrs. Richardson's name on it. Most of the jury members were government employes.

In passing sentence District Judge James R. Kirkland praised the FBI agent as a "brave little American housewife," likened her to Barbara Fritchie and Molly Pitcher. To Mrs. Richardson he said:

> "The ideology that you embraced demonstrated its complete lack of integrity. . . . Your teachings at your mother's knee and your American father should not have permitted you to embrace such false doctrines. . . . You have brought this upon yourself.
>
> "If your country had been at war and you had given material aid to a foreign government under our espionage statute, you too, like Mr. and Mrs. Rosenberg, might be sitting in death's row at Sing Sing penitentiary awaiting electrocution."

He denied bail pending an appeal. Last week the Committee to Defend Mrs. Marie Richardson called for support, said:

> The committee feels that the actual reason for this conviction is [her] faultless record in fighting for full equality and justice for the Negro people.

Union Buster

"He lied when he dared," said hearings referee Landis of American Legion "subversive"-hunter, labor-spy HARPER KNOWLES. His specialty: collecting dossiers on all militant union leaders.

Shyster

Disbarred for bribing jurors, AARON SAPIRO became chief counsel for Lundeberg (See top, r.). Harvard Law School Dean Landis' impression of Sapiro (1939): "Truth matters little. . . ."

Hounded Man

CHARLES KROLEK, naturalized citizen related to Rathborne, told of FBI hounding, testified under obvious pressure. Admitted meetings where he saw Bridges dealt with trade union problems only.

Man Who Wasn't There

Ex-longshoreman JOHN H. SCHOMAKER testified he left the room when Bridges "signed up with CP," but later "saw the party card." Alleged recipient of application said Schomaker lied.

Police Spy

A "problem in contumacy" who justified lying by appeals to "patriotism" (Landis), STANLEY M. DOYLE as one-time Oregon special prosecutor offered bribes for testimony against Bridges.

Trial by stoolpigeon:

The 18-year crusade to Harry Bridges reaches

THE man in the middle is, of course, Harry Bridges, Australian-born pres. of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union.

On either side of him: (left) first vice-pres. J. R. (Bob) Robertson and (right) Intl. Exec. Board member Henry Schmidt.

The characters surrounding them are a representative rogue's gallery of the U. S. Government's more than 70 "witnesses" against the longshore leader and his union. Every one of these "witnesses" pictured is either a stoolpigeon, a perjurer or a combination of both. It is through their testimony that Bridges, after four separate trials on what are in fact the same charges, found himself in court again on March 18.

This time he was accompanied by Robertson and Schmidt. They were appealing to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals from prison sentences of 5, 2 and 2 years respectively, imposed by Federal Judge George B. Harris on April 10, 1950, for "conspiring to defraud the U. S." in connection with Bridges' naturalization in 1945. Bridges himself is also threatened with deportation.

"RELENTLESS CRUSADE": Nevertheless there is a surprisingly moderate climate at ILWU headquarters in San Francisco these days. Bridges himself and the members of his militant union take it all in stride.

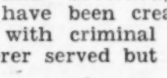
After all, 1952 marks the 18th year since the combined forces of shipowners, newspapers, the Immigration Bureau, the police, the Dept. of Justice and assorted persons and organizations started the "Get Bridges" crusade.

That crusade is unprecedented in U. S. history. When it seemed to have reached its climax in 1945, and the U. S. Supreme Court cleared Bridges after his third trial, the late Associate Justice Frank Murphy wrote:

> **Seldom if ever in the history of this nation has there been such a concentrated and relentless crusade to deport an individual because he dared to exercise the freedom that belongs to him as a human being and that is guaranteed to him by the Constitution.**

GOVT. DEFIES LAWS: To accomplish this end—get Bridges, jail him and/or deport him—the U. S. Government has stooped to practices that would not be tolerated even if a cold-blooded murderer were on trial for his life:

- A man has been placed in jeopardy of loss of liberty not twice, but four times;
- A special bill was introduced in Congress—a Bill of Attainder—aimed at deporting a single individual;
- The immigration laws were amended, consciously, for the sole purpose of "getting Bridges;"
- A Secy. of Labor (Frances Perkins) was threatened with impeachment because she did not cooperate with the crusaders;
- A man (Bridges) has been hounded, followed, spied upon, wire-tapped and has suffered every type of invasion of his personal life for almost two decades;
- Witnesses have been bought and paid for by government agencies; perjury has been committed and suborned; stoolpigeons have been created out of men with criminal records; a murderer served but a single year because he was willing to testify against a labor leader.



A staggering list of codified laws—not to mention traditional American procedures—has been broken by government itself, to rid the country of a man who still commands the allegiance of his membership of 80,000 in spite of everything that has been said about him and done to him.

THE JUNEAU EPISODE: Latest blow to be absorbed by the tough longshore and warehouse union Bridges heads was the Supreme Court's decision on Jan. 7, upholding a judgment of $750,000 against ILWU and one of its Alaskan locals, in behalf of the Juneau Spruce Company.

There is more than one way to skin a cat—and more than one to smash a union.

Strictly a Taft-Hartley affair, the Juneau Spruce episode seemed to provide an ultimate answer to the contention that unions "can live with" T-H. It revealed the ultimate purpose of the Act: to sue unions out of business when they cannot be smashed in any other way.

ILWU refuses to be smashed; but it does not have $750,000. As John L. Lewis put it recently when testifying on the dangers of Taft-Hartley, "the ILWU does not have 750,000 cents."

Reason: it has the lowest per capita rate of almost any union in the country.

UNSKINNABLE CATS: Soon after Bridges goes to court with J. R. Robertson and Henry Schmidt, who were character-witnesses at his naturalization, the multiple cat-skinning process will be seen at work; another ILWU's leader, Jack W. Hall, is due to go on trial in Honolulu. Hall is ILWU's regional director in the islands, where the union has some 25,000 members employed in sugar, pineapple, longshore and miscellaneous industries.

Arrested under the Smith Act last August, in the midst of crucial negotiations with the sugar producers, Hall and six other islanders not connected with ILWU are to be charged with "conspiring to teach and advocate," etc.

The attack on Hall failed to split ILWU in the islands, just as the attacks on Bridges have failed to split it on the mainland. Recognizing Hall's arrest as an attack on their union, the Hawaiian membership held fast, and the sugar negotiations were resumed when Hall was admitted to bail by Federal Judge Delbert Metzger.

(For reducing bail to $7,500 from the $50,000 demanded by the government, Judge Metzger was threatened with removal from the bench.)

One week later, negotiations ended with substantial wage-gains for the workers.

PROOF ON THE AIR: In a neat piece of turnabout play Jan. 24, ILWU proved that the indictment of Hall was an attempt to smash the union.

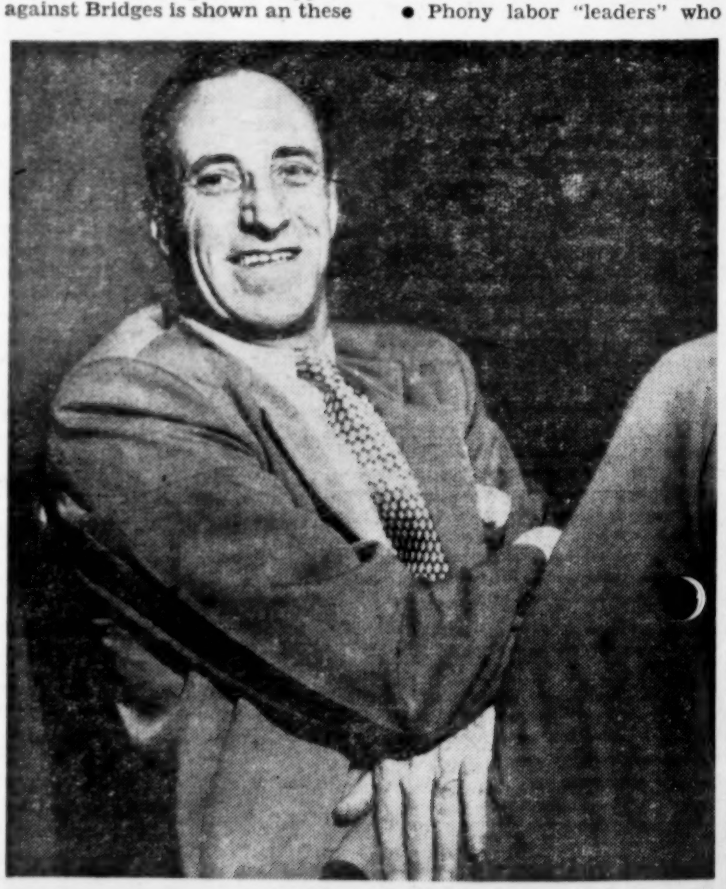
It put on a radio broadcast the recorded voices of two FBI agents, in conversation with ILWU's educational director in Hawaii.

The educational director, David Thompson, had been approached by the agents with a proposition. They wanted to reach Hall and offer him immunity from prosecution if he would lead a move to split the union. Thompson arranged to have his home wired for sound, met the agents, led them on, while Robert McElrath, ILWU's English-language news commentator on Station KHON (Honolulu), "bugged" them.

MEN OF EXTINCTION: Not a commercial paper in Honolulu or the U. S. touched the story. And for the same reasons, the real facts about ILWU, its president and the four frame-ups in which he has been involved, have never reached most people.

The type of "witness" the government could get to appear against Bridges is shown an these pages. Six of the pictured "witnesses" appeared in the second and third trials (the Landis and Sears hearings—1939 and 1941); six in the full-dress performance in San Francisco in 1949-1950. In the 18 years the government and its various federal, state and local agencies have been seeking evidence that Bridges is a '"clear and present danger" to the U. S., they have been able to produce nothing better than:

- Police agents who will swear to anything their superiors want;
- Renegade radicals pa[illegible]y the day who ride the c[illegible]it making a career out of testifying against progressives;
- Ex-criminals hooked by the police into becoming stoolpigeons;
- Professional patrioteers whose bias against anything to the left of the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers impeaches anything they say about unions;
- Phony labor "leaders" who



HARRY BRIDGES

J. R. ROBERTSON

HENRY SCHMIDT

Perjurer

LAWRENCE ROSS, self-styled Southern aristocrat editing Southern trade journal, confessed on stand he was Polish-born, Bronx-bred. Caught in perjury, he is still free today.

$5,000 Felon

MERVYN RATHBORNE confessed repeated law violations and perjury; record showed felony conviction "expunged" by govt. to enable him to testify. Received at least $5,000 to appear.

Man With Telescope

Used in over 10 cases before Bridges case (recently appeared against Steve Nelson), PAUL CROUCH swore he saw Bridges in New York when it was proved Bridges was in California.

Professional Pigeon

Regular performer in McCarran, Smith Act, Un-AAC hearings, fingerman in 24 trials before Bridges case (twice on record as perjurer), MANNING JOHNSON, earns livelihood as govt. witness.

Scab-herder

Immigration Appeals Board called "not worthy of belief" evidence of HARRY LUNDEBERG, AFL Sailors Union secy.-treas., open Bridges enemy permanently involved in raiding, scabbing.

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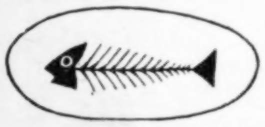
have a personal axe to grind and have sold out to the bosses;

- Disgruntled trade-unionists, chronic alcoholics and a weird assortment of psychopaths, liars and neurotics.



No documentary evidence has ever been produced that Bridges is or ever was a member of the Communist Party.

N IN A BOWL: If the government—with all the facilities it commands, and with 18 years of day-to-day surveillance of a man who lives in a goldfish bowl—can produce nothing better than this, it must be concluded that the evidence it seeks does not exist.

Bridges has never made any bones about the fact that he has consulted with Communists, and sometimes accepted their aid in trade union situations. He has never hesitated to express his militant opinions about the foreign or domestic policies of the government. Yet, every attempt to destroy his leadership in his own union has failed miserably.

The ILWU rank and file, in fact, supports Bridges' policies whenever any crucial issue is put to referendum vote.

THE NOSE THEORY: In its Nov., 1951, issue **Fortune** ascribes Bridges' strength to the fact that he is "tougher than anyone else on the docks"—an analysis reminiscent of the theory that if Cleopatra's nose had been 1/16 of an inch longer the entire history of Western Europe would have been different.

OT

Bridges' nose is probably longer than Cleopatra's, but it is a sharp nose for news, for trends and movements in trade union, national and international economics and politics.

What **Fortune,** the government and the employers fail to understand is that Bridges' strength lies in his rank and file—in his close contact with it, his sensitivity to its needs, his skill in knowing exactly how far it is willing to go to achieve the "porkchops" for which ILWU is famous.

DANGER—DEMOCRACY: It boils down to this: Bridges and his membership started in 1934 with wages, hours and conditions identical with those on the East Coast. Today longshoremen under the lifetime leadership of "King" Joe Ryan of the Longshoremen's Assn. (AFL) average $1,700 a year. West Coast Longshoremen of the ILWU average $5,200 a year. Such a union, such militancy and determination to maintain independence and democracy are threats:

- To union "leaders" who hold lifetime jobs, huge salaries (Ryan's is $32,500, Bridges' $7,020) and "expense" accounts;
- To politicians who make their deals with such so-called union leaders (and manage to pick up mink coats on the side);
- To those shipping interests who make enormously profitable deals with these elements.

TIME TO AWAKE: From the moment these enemies of the people discovered Bridges wouldn't sell out or play ball, the conspiracy to destroy ILWU by framing its elected leaders began.

It will end when enough citizens, realizing that the attack on Bridges is only part of the generalized attack on American living standards and aspirations for democracy and peace, make their voices heard where they need to be heard.

(Guardian readers concerned with this case can obtain material from—and make sorely-needed contributions to—the Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Defense Committee, 150 Golden Gate Av., San Francisco 2. The committee especially asks for communications and protests to be sent to the President and the Attorney General, demanding an end to the 18-year persecution of one of America's most courageous and valuable union leaders.)

THE HOT WAR AGAINST THE LAWYERS

ILWU assails high court ban on Hallinan review

TO the Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the Supreme Court was "a Trumanized court which, every Monday of the month, hands down decisions diametrically opposed to the best interests of the American people." By the latest of its decisions, three of the ILWU's lawyers face jail terms up to six months on contempt of court charges: Vincent Hallinan, designated by the Progressive Party as its nominee for President; James Martin MacInnis; and Richard Gladstein. Hallinan and MacInnis were sentenced for contempt at the conclusion of the 1949-1950 trial of Bridges. Gladstein, who was associated in that defense, received his contempt sentence in the New York Smith Act trial of 11 Communist Party leaders.

HALLINAN & BRIDGES
There's irony in the facts

The Supreme Court rejected a rehearing of the Hallinan case, refused to review the MacInnis case and upheld the convictions of all five lawyers in the N. Y. case. The ILWU charged the ruling will have the effect of "further intimidating lawyers throughout the U. S." and said:

> **If the present direction of the Supreme Court is not changed by the people, we can envisage a time when no lawyer will handle any case involving a trade union member, unless his union is considered by the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers to be 100% acceptable to the NAM line.**

STRONG DISSENT: Justices Hugo Black and William O. Douglas favored a hearing for the West Coast attorneys, issued sharp dissents in the N. Y. case. Douglas wrote:

> **One who reads the record of this case will have difficulty in determining whether members of the bar conspired to drive a judge from the bench or whether the judge used the authority of the bench to whipsaw the lawyers, to taunt and tempt them and to create for himself the role of the persecuted.**

Both justices held that the lawyers should have been granted a jury trial instead of having been summarily sentenced by Judge Harold R. Medina; Black wrote that the judge's "repeated accusations" against the lawyers impressed him as

> **. . . showing such a bitter hostility to the lawyers that the accuser should be held disqualified to try them.**

MEDINA'S SELF-CONCERN: Justice Felix Frankfurther in a separate dissent said Medina

> **acted as the prosecuting witness; he thought of himself as such; his self-concern pervades the record . . . [he] should not have combined in himself the functions of accuser and judge.**

Justice Robert H. Jackson wrote the majority opinion in the 5-3 decision (Justice Tom Clark did not participate). He said the Court will protect attorneys in their zealous defense of their clients, but that it will never "equate contempt with courage or insults with independence."

Attorneys Sacher and Gladstein are under six months sentence; George W. Crockett Jr. and Abraham Isserman, four months; Louis McCabe, 30 days. Eugene Dennis, who served as his own attorney, gets an extra six months on the five-year sentence he is already serving.

Commenting on the three dissents in the case involving Gladstein, the ILWU said:

> **We note the irony of the fact that if Justices Frank Murphy and Wiley Rutledge had not died in 1949 the decisions that are sending our attorneys to prison would have been the opposite.**

Red Squad

Paid by Mayor of Portland, Ore., to name Bridges a Red, JOHN J. KEEGAN was accused by Landis of deliberately misleading him. AFL Teamster officials gave him money for his work.

Forger

Expelled by Communist Party as police-spy suspect, JOHN J. LEECH falsified affidavit. Paid by Doyle for testimony against Bridges which roused in Landis doubts of "overwhelming force."

A fine pamphlet

In only 26 pages the Bridges - Robertson - Schmidt Defense Committee has produced a masterly, highly readable summary of the facts you need to know about the 18-year-long story with necessary names, dates etc. The GUARDIAN urges readers to send to the Committee for **The Law and Harry Bridges.**

THE LAW

Court ruling perils all foreign born

IN 1945 Supreme Court Justice Frank Murphy, concurring in the majority opinion, upholding the citizenship of Harry Bridges (see pp. 6, 7), wrote:

> The liberties of the 3,500,000 other aliens in this nation are also at stake. . . . The Bill of Rights belongs to them as to all citizens. It protects them as long as they reside within the boundaries of our land. It protects them in the exercise of the great individual rights necessary to a sound political and economic democracy. Neither injunction, fine, imprisonment, nor deportation can be utilized to restrict or prevent the exercise of intellectual freedom. . . .

On March 10, 1952, the U. S. Supreme Court in two decisions (6-2, 5-4) stripped constitutional protection from U. S. foreign-born, ruled that membership in the Communist Party at any time (even if terminated long before 1940, date of the Alien Registration Act), is a deportable offense, and that foreign born can be imprisoned indefinitely without bail for "security reasons" pending a deportation hearing.

PUNISHMENT? The ruling that past CP membership is grounds for deportation was delivered by Justice Robert Jackson, who argued that the constitutional provision for due process of law does not apply because deportation is not punishment. In a dissent Justice William O. Douglas wrote:

> Banishment is punishment. It may deprive a man and his family of all that makes life worth while. Those who have their roots here have an important stake in this country. Their plans for themselves and their hopes of their children all depend on their right to stay. If they are uprooted and sent to lands no longer known to them or no longer hospitable, they become displaced, homeless people condemned to bitterness and despair.

Dissenting against the bail ruling, Justice Hugo Black pointed out that any "law-abiding" citizen can be held indefinitely if "a subordinate Washington bureau agent" merely charges him with past or present membership in the CP or any of the proscribed organizations on the Attorney General's "subversive" list. He commented:

> This is a Communist case. I suppose as long as you can throw that one word in, everything may be all right. But I have an idea that the liberty of every American is at stake. As long as I am here, I shall protest against every encroachment like this.

He also called the ruling a "shocking disregard" of the First, Fifth and Eighth Amendments in the Bill of Rights (governing the rights of freedom of speech and press and of assembly, the right to due process of law, right to bail and protection against "cruel and unusual punishment.").

ROUNDUP THREAT: With more than 200 foreign-born already under deportation charges and hundreds more threatened, a dragnet roundup loomed last week as an immediate possibility. There was a threat to native-born as well: his citizenship challenged, he could be imprisoned without bail indefinitely while waiting to disprove the charge before an immigration board.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, which took the cases to the Supreme Court, said:

> The first ruling establishes the legality of a practice fought throughout the legal history of this nation, to wit, retroactive illegality or the punishment for an act which was not a "crime" when committed.
>
> The second ruling has opened the way for a denial of bail to hundreds of non-citizens held in deportation proceedings. . . .
>
> The American Committee has consistently warned that there could be no abrogation of the rights of the foreign-born without abridging the rights of native-born Americans and these adverse decisions, handed down in an atmosphere of desperation and hysteria, doom thousands to persecution and harassment and make a mockery of this land where liberty and justice are allegedly accorded all.

The committee pledged a fight to reverse the decisions, scheduled an emeragency conference in N. Y. March 19.

GET GOING OR ELSE: Still pending before the Supreme Court is a ruling on a section of the McCarran Act under which a non-citizen under a deportation order may be sentenced to ten years for failure or refusal "to make timely application in good faith for travel or other documents necessary to his departure from the U. S."

The House last week began consideration of new threats to foreign-born. Under a bill sponsored by Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.)—a companion measure in the Senate bears the name of Pat McCarran (D-Nev.)—the Justice Dept. would receive almost unlimited power to denaturalize and to deport, and greatly expanded power to determine who may enter the country.

Calling the bills "fundamentally exclusionary," the Washington **Post** warned last week:

> Among the serious and disquieting defects of the McCarran and Walter bills are the broadening of grounds for deportation, making them, incidentally, retroactive, and the establishment of new requirements for naturalization retroactively covering the entire life of an applicant. They would permit summary deportation and denaturalization in certain cases and would markedly diminish the scope of judicial review affecting aliens and, to some extent, citizens as well. . . .

U. S. Commissioner Harry N. Rosenfield of the Displaced Persons Commission has called the proposed legislation "America's Nuremberg Law." He said:

> "It is racist and archaic, based on the theory that people with different styles of noses should be treated differently. . . . We talk internationalism but act tribalism."

"WE'RE PROUD — WE'RE HOLDING UP"

"Progressives who think they have troubles in the witch-hunt era should consider the case of Mrs. Esther Jackson of Brooklyn, N. Y. (above with daughters Catherine, 4, and Harriett, 8) and think again. She is the wife of James Jackson, union organizer, scholar and Communist Party leader, who after indictment under the Smith Act disappeared last June and has not been found. This is the daily life of the Jackson family since then, as told to a Baltimore Afro-American **reporter: Followed at every step by FBI agents; agents "right behind" the children as they go to and from school, sitting in car all day outside Mrs. Jackson's place of work; continual harassment "to make us crack up" of hundreds of friends, relatives, correspondents from coast to coast. Referring to the total failure of the Harry T. Moore murder "investigation," Mrs. Jackson said: "This FBI which utilizes great power and authority to hound young colored children finds no funds and manpower to unearth the killers of my people. . . . But we're not crushed and we're not going to be." Concluded** Afro-American's **reporter: "As I pulled away, another car pulled off behind me. I went home and waited for a visit from the FBI."**

CALENDAR

Boston

COMING, Greatest event of the season — **PAUL ROBESON BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION.** Fri., 8 p.m., April 4. Auspices: Freedom Associates. Place to be announced. Watch for it.

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THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LABOUR PARTY

Guns or butter? Britain faces up to the issue

By Gordon Schaffer

GUARDIAN special correspondent

LONDON

THE revolt of 56 Labour MP's against the coalition arms policy of the Churchill government and the right-wing leadership has at last brought the clash—fought for months behind closed doors or party meetings—into the open. From now on, it is a fight between the Labour rank and file led by Aneurin Bevan and the powerful party machine controlled by the Attlee-Morrison leadership and backed by the votes in the annual party conference of a handful of right-wing-led unions.

The plea that to oppose official policy would play into the hands of the Tories will no longer be effective: there is no sign of an imminent election (Churchill can depend on his present majority for three or four years); the pressure of events will force the movement to make up its mind where it stands on the issues raised by the Bevan group long before there is any chance of an appeal to the electors.

NO BRITISH HELP: Preceding the revolt in the House were long, bitter discussions at meetings of Labour MP's. Already the Bevan oposition has important gains to its credit. It is now clear to the world that Britain will not follow America into war with China. Both Churchill and Attlee had envisaged a situation in which Britain might become involved in an extended war with China much as it did in Korea after MacArthur had committed UN. Now, after the fierce debate in Commons, such a development will be impossible. If U. S. generals or air chiefs spread the war, they will "go it alone."

Bevan did not exaggerate when he said the clash over Churchill's speech to Congress might mark the end of the bi-partisan foreign policy in Britain. Every private meeting of the Labour MP's since Churchill took office has seen a steady growth in the opposition to the foreign policy not only of the Churchill government but of the late Labour government. MP's followed Ernest Bevin and then Morrison out of loyalty, not conviction. Now the coalition in foreign affairs has burst wide open. The section of Labour which is as Tory as the Tories is becoming isolated. The Labour Party is returning to its traditional attitude towards the movements for social change which are sweeping Asia and the Middle East.

LONG-WAITED WORDS: Bevan was warmly applauded by crowded Labour benches when he said these movements were not the result of a "Kremlin plot," and accused the U.S. of waging an ideological war with weapons against the Soviet Union behind the UN facade. He warned that

> **". . . not one British soldier, sailor or airman will risk his life behind a policy of that kind."**

ANEURIN BEVAN
Broke the cold-war log-jam

These are the words which many Labour MP's, and the overwhelming majority of the rank and file in the party and unions, wanted to hear. Once such an admission has been made by a Labour leader, it will be impossible to swing opinion in the party back to any other course.

After the foreign affairs debate, the influential Foreign Affairs Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party adopted a series of conditions for German rearmament which go further than those of the French Socialists, and will certainly not be accepted either by Adenauer or the U. S. Labour MP's as a whole will undoubtedly accept this statement of policy, and very soon the British Labour movement will be committed to all-out opposition to German rearmament.

WORKERS ARE READY: The big political question is whether Labour's left wing will follow their opposition to present foreign policy to its logical conclusion. Will they couple opposition to cuts in the social services with demands for serious reductions in the crippling arms burden? Will they demand repudiation of U.S. embargoes on trade with Russia, China and Eastern Europe? Will they call for an end to the cold war? If they do, they will receive overwhelming support from the Labour and trade union movements, and a growing body of Liberal opinion which has been waiting for a lead. The answer to these questions will decide whether the Bevan campaign is to be merely a demogogical bid for leadership (and it can easily become that) or a serious attempt to save Britain from economic catastrophe.

Right-wing leaders sense the danger of a genuine working-class resistance to Churchill's government and are trying to damp down all protest movements. Deakin has led his union (Transport Workers) out of the London Trades Council, oldest and biggest rank-and-file trade union body in Britain, declaring strikes are now out-of-date. He has committed other leaders to hysterical denunciation of the miners who suggested an end to voluntary work on Saturday as a protest against the cuts in social services.

BUTTER OR GUNS: But workers are not going to listen to pontifical assertions that the resistance must be limited to Commons. The crisis is now too near their homes. The unions will have to fight back to protect living standards of their members; for the British, like the French, government will be forced to impoverish the workers if it is to pay the bills presented by Washington.

The Attlee leadership will be forced by the deepening economic crisis either to tell the workers they must accept cuts in living standards or to demand cuts in the arms bill. At the moment it is trying to escape the dilemma by shouting louder than Churchill about the dangers of "Soviet aggression." But no-one believes that story any more.

The struggle ahead will be long and bitter but the British people are at last beginning to understand the issues and are mobilizing their strength.

"Class war"

Following the refusal of Labour MP's to back former Premier Attlee's motion of censure against 56 rebellious Bevanites (Attlee was defeated 172 to 63 at a stormy private meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party), both wings of the party attacked the Tory budget presented last week as "class war." The budget:

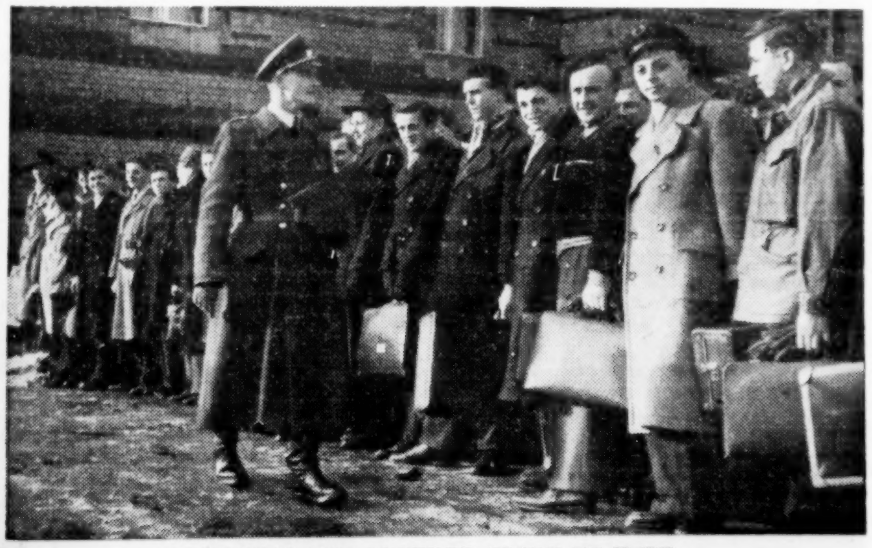
- **Cut food subsidies from $1,148,000,000 to $700,000,000 yearly. (Result: price rises for all rationed foods, basic core of the British diet.)**
- **Imposed another drastic cut in imports (mostly food, clothing, consumer goods) while calling for increase in exports and national production.**
- **Cut normal profits tax by half; imposed excess profits tax of 30% on profits above the normal level 1946-49, with limit of 18% of total profit. (The N. Y. Times, Mar. 4, commented: "The new rate does not seem excessive and can certainly be handled without too much pain." Since 1947 profits have gone up 116% while buying power of workers' earnings increased 3%, output per worker rose 29%.)**
- **Tax reductions tied to an "incentive system" (speedup) were offered workers. (Average Briton earns $22.40 a week.) Reduced taxes (estimated to amount to $5,000,000; food subsidies were cut $448,000,000) would come nowhere near compensating for increased living costs, Labour MP's pointed out. Interest rates were raised, making prohibitive instalment buying of consumer goods.**

The Tory budget, essentially the bill for rearmament, was certain to deepen the British people's resistance to the Tory-right-wing-Labour arms policy.

The Evaders

Invitations to war produce a negative reaction in Raccoon Hollow, near the West Virginia-Kentucky line, the Marine Corps' Capt. N. R. Stanford found recently. Looking for recruits, the captain flew over the Hollow dropping leaflets. He later reported:

> **"Suddenly bullets popped around us. We dumped what folders we had left, took evasive action, and got out of there fast."**



IF ONLY THE FUEHRER COULD BE HERE
These new allies of yours are volunteers for the new "police unit" being formed in West Berlin to guard that part of the city against a possible invasion from the Bolshevik hordes from the East. Or have you heard that one before?

WHO IS THIS AMERICAN?

In the day when MacArthur, McCarran and McCarthy are the heroes of cold-war America—he lives among us in appropriate obscurity. Yet his life—and the philosophy that has grown out of it—have a vital message for America at this turning-point in our history.

- A WEALTHY CAPITALIST, he went to Russia in 1917, met Lenin, met the people, urged immediate establishment of friendly relations with the Soviets to the advantage of American business — and never changed his mind.
- A DEVOUT CHRISTIAN, he was convinced from the outset that the Soviet revolution was essentially in the mainstream of dynamic religion — and never changed his mind.
- A PASSIONATELY LOYAL AMERICAN, he again went to Moscow in 1933 to reassure himself that his country's advantage lay in friendly U. S.-Soviet relations. More deeply convinced than ever, he returned to report to President Roosevelt — and a few months later the U. S. recognized the U. S. S. R.

"The situation forces us above all to follow our own interests. . . . We are interested in the development of American exports. The only big market with great possibilities, which have not been really utilized, is the Russian market."

In these words to Stalin in 1933, COL. RAYMOND ROBINS expressed the sensible, open-air-mind point of view which is being forced by events on more and more thousands of Americans today.

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THE WORLD

British newsman sends germ war details

NEWSPAPERS were filled last week with reports of an imminent showdown in the Korean War. Vice Adm. Turner Joy told the press (Mar. 9) that "the only real logic to the Communists is the imperative logic of military pressure. . . . Until such time as we can force them to come to terms we can look forward to endless debate." Robert S. Allen (N.Y. **Post**, Mar. 13) said the Pentagon was "seriously considering" use of the atom bomb in Korea, and reported a

> . . . growing conviction among UN military leaders that the only way peace can be established in the Far East is to either destroy or cripple the war potential of Red China.

Jim Lucas (N.Y. **World-Telegram**, Mar. 13) said the UN Command with Washington's approval was considering a 10-day ultimatum. **UP** from Washington (Mar. 13) said the Allies "feel strongly that the UN must press for a showdown" and that "a high level review" of "possible actions" was under way.

The spate of reports was presumably designed to test public reaction to a tougher line in Korea. They came as the U.S.S.R.'s Malik in the UN Disarmament Commission repeated Peking's charges of use of germ war in Korea. Washington continued to deny the charge angrily, said it would ask UN to investigate if the Communists refused an Intl. Red Cross investigation. Washington's claim is that the Chinese and Koreans are trying to shake the blame for their own inability to control epidemics in their areas.

(China, once disease-ridden, has not suffered a single epidemic in any part of the country for two years. Smallpox, which afflicted Shanghai in perpetual epidemics for the last 20 years, has been wiped out after 6,840,620 people were vaccinated. Similar records were chalked up against cholera, diphtheria, typhoid, tuberculosis. Korea has not had a cholera epidemic in 60 years.)

THIN BROWN TRAIL: Alan Winnington, London **Daily Worker** correspondent with the Chinese, gave these accounts of the alleged use of germ war:

> A Chinese volunteer stationed at Naemun, some 28 miles northeast of Kaesong and 10 miles northwest of Chorwon, told me that on Feb. 12 he saw three U.S. planes flying from the direction of Chorwon. "They circled twice and I saw a thin brown, almost black, trail coming from them. After they were gone, we found many fleas and flies on the snow-covered hillsides. In a single square meter area we found more than 1,000 fleas."
>
> Head of a medical unit in the same district, Chen Chih-ping, with other medical workers, also described the brown trail and examined the fleas. Under laboratory tests they found that the fleas carry bubonic plague. Old residents in the district testified they had never seen fleas of this type in the area before. One old man, Ku Tzu Sa, said: "I have lived here 63 years and never saw such fleas. Flies we get, but never before the end of March. How could there be flies in this cold weather and with so much snow still around?"
>
> March 4: Every unit of the volunteers now has germ-war combat units which rushed to the spot (where six shells with germ-laden insects fell) together with medical units to seal it off and decontaminate it with insecticides, fire and lime. I have just heard their report. The shells were very light, made little noise and left a depression "only as big as a rice bowl." In an area 50 meters around were large numbers of flies and spiders. The flies were blackish with a small head, long narrow wings and "more velvety than common flies." Cholera bacteria were found in the abdomens and among the downy hair.

Winnington recalled that on Jan. 18 he had reported that well-informed correspondents in Panmunjom knew of secret orders for the Americans to stall the talks till mid-March. The reason, he believed, is now emerging.

Franco executes 9 more, reports say

THE military commission seeking to make Spain a U.S. air and naval base had assured Franco there would be no attempt to influence the conduct of his fascist regime.

The promise is being kept; Washington had nothing to say when news came that Franco on Feb. 17 quietly executed nine political prisoners. They formed part of a group of 30 trade union leaders jailed and court-martialed (Feb. 6 and 7) after participating in the great Barcelona strike last year. Spain's London embassy first confirmed the executions, then, as British protests mounted, denied them. Madrid reports were deliberately confusing. **AP** (Mar. 12) said death sentences of "six trade union leaders" had been commuted, but did not say whether they were among the nine. Definitely confirmed was the execution of five additional union leaders Mar. 14. None of the group was a Communist.

In Barcelona another group of some 30 leaders and participants in last year's strike still awaited court-martial. They had demanded but were not given the right to civilian counsel. The Franco terror betrayed the Franco government's mounting fear of a new strike wave; in New York Spanish Republican Foreign Minister Alvarez del Vayo warned that only worldwide protests, especially from Americans, could halt the executions.

BIBLE BURNING: The Madrid-Washington alliance apparently was unshaken also by the action of 15 young men wearing the insignia of a Catholic organization who stormed a Protestant church in Seville, beat the pastor, set fire to pews, hymnals and Bibles, shouting: "Down with Protestantism."

Franco law defines all non-Catholic religions as "cults," almost completely bans the Bible by permitting only two Protestant bookstores in all Spain, has closed all Protestant schools.

Archbishop Segura of Seville last week denounced the "Protestant danger" in Spain and "leniency" to non-Catholics, warning the Government not to barter "Catholic loyalty and conscience" for a "river of U.S. gold." The "river of gold" was about to flow; **AP** reported (Mar. 8) "a special U.S. mission with a 100-million-dollar bankroll" about to go to Spain to bargain "for naval and air bases."

(By contrast, the Hungarian Bible Council and New Testament Committee has just issued a new translation of Genesis, asks all readers to suggest improvements in the translation, declares it is the first time a Hungarian Bible has been published without foreign help, cites it as evidence that "the real church, also in the midst of a socialistic development, is being zealously and freeely built.")

A LETTER FROM THE COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE IN THE ROSENBERG CASE

246 Fifth Av., N.Y.C. MU 5-2144

To Our Friends:

Many hundreds of you were turned away from our historic March 12 meeting at Pythian Hall in New York, while 1,200 jammed every inch of available space in the hall itself.

We tried for weeks to get a larger hall: we were turned down.

We are sorry that many of you were not in the hall with us. But we want to thank you for your patience, the contributions you sent up to us from the street, and for your good will.

The Rosenberg Case calls for another meeting, many times larger, in the very near future. We are calling the big halls now.

Meanwhile, get your friends together for neighborhood meetings on the Case. Ask us for speakers, for our Rosenberg Amicus Petition, our new 8-page fact sheet, for the William Reuben pamphlet and other materials.

And, of course, keep sending us the funds that will make justice possible.

David Alman, *Executive Secretary*
Joseph Brainin, *Chairman*

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PEACE

Silence shrouds ban on Uruguay parley

A CURIOUS CURTAIN of silence last week surrounded the American Inter-Continental Peace Conference, banned by the Uruguayan government on the eve of its scheduled opening in ntevideo March 11. Sponsored by any of the most noted personages in this hemisphere, the conference attracted delegates from all the Americas, North, Central and South. The U.S. delegation, which flew 6,000 miles to find itself stranded, cabled home:

> **Pressure by peace forces in the U.S. will be decisive in getting the Uruguayan government to rescind the ban.**

The U.S. Sponsoring Committee for the Conference urged these steps:

- **Cables to the Council of State, Montevideo, Uruguay.**
- **Wires to the Uruguayan U.S. Legation, 1025 Connecticut Av., Washington.**
- **Phone calls to the Uruguayan Consulate in New York, WHitehall 4-6629.**
- **Wires to the U.S. State Dept., Washington, D.C.**

"A SPECIAL DUTY": Darwin Bracco, head of the Uruguayan delegation to the UN, told a delegation over the weekend that as a Uruguayan citizen he was sympathetic to holding the conference in Montevideo, but that the matter was beyond the province of the UN delegation.

The government of Brazil, which first banned the conference, explained the action as "Brazil's duty to her friends, notably the U.S." The U.S. Sponsoring Committee saw in this direct U.S. State Dept. intervention, commented last week:

> **It is inconceivable that the State Dept. did not exercise similar pressure on the Uruguayan government. . . . The people of the U.S. have a special responsibility, therefore, to let their own State Dept. hear from them about this underhanded pressure against the peace movement of the peoples of this hemisphere.**

FARM

FU convention backs Truman down line

THE 50th Anniversary Convention of the Natl. Farmers Union in Dallas, Tex., last week went on record for continued full support of the Truman Administration, voted down resolutions for a cease-fire in Korea and world disarmament, for condemnation of the "monopoly enterprise system," and against jimcrow. It also amended the constitution to increase state membership requirements, threatening the charters of the Eastern Division, Iowa, Oregon, Michigan and possibly others; the charters of the Northeastern and Mid-Southern divisions and of Ohio have already been revoked. The Farmers Union Natl. Rank & File Committee charged:

> **The proposed program as offered by the official program committee of this Convention is a complete violation of the traditions of the Natl. Farmers Union. Never before has the NFU identified itself with exploiting business interests, placed limitations upon the cooperative movement, advocated a program of scarcity, and given its approval to the preparations and foreign adventures of the military. The proposed program is a betrayal of the interests and aspirations of American farm people and a repudiation of everything the FU has ever stood for.**

The GUARDIAN will publish a full report of the convention next week.

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55.	White on white floral damask with gold border	54x 83	5.00
56.	Floral damask pattern in blue, beige, gold, green. Hemstitched	56x 82	8.00
57.	White on white floral pattern with blue border and 8 napkins	60x 83	8.50
58.	Same as above with 4 napkins	60x 60	5.00

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FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA:

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64.	Cream color banquet cloth in stag and forest pattern with 6 napkins	60x100	19.50
65.	Pure white damask banquet cloth with 12 napkins	70x126	40.00

FROM BELGIUM:

		Size	Price
66.	White floral pattern with green, peach, gold border; plus 12 napkins (16")	64x104	21.00
67.	Same as above with 8 napkins	64x 84	14.00
68.	Same as above with 8 napkins	52x 68	8.50
69.	Pure white on white banquet cloth with 12 napkins	64x104	21.50

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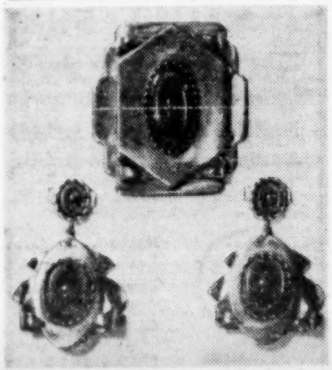

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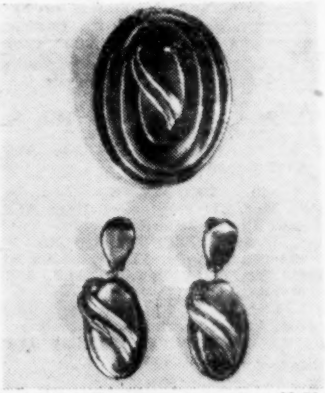

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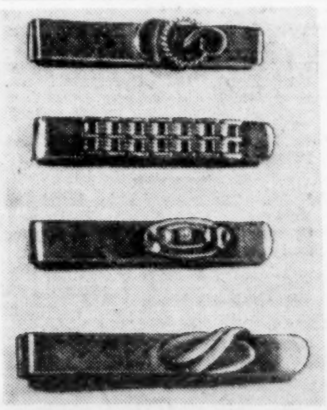

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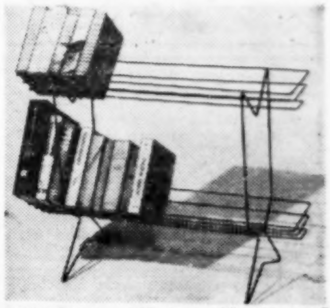

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By Robert Joyce

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Previously unknown to this reviewer, the artist Ted Gilien is clearly a craftsman and a creative personality who will not long remain unfamiliar to men and women of good will. He has a virtuoso command of his media and of his vision. He expresses the call to peace equally well in realism and atmospheric effects, in romantic gentleness and in satire.

THE GREAT GIFT: The book is an impressive art show in itself. Forty-seven pictures are finely reproduced in black and white through photo-offset on 8½x11-inch pages with a running commentary by the artist. The commentary may well be worth the price to you, for it presents a wealth of quotations and statistics on the cost of war. This searching documentation and the intelligent production reflect an unusual personality, an exceptionally gifted artist who is anything but an anti-rational Bohemian.

Gilien's work not only reflects the realities of our common life but penetrates them and operates through quite modern art forms to transvaluate them. At the same time it affirms the great traditions of the art and employs them creatively for our times. A treat for the jaded or discouraged eye and for the esthetic sensibilities of all at $1 a copy. Orders to: The Price, Dept. 64, 5864 Hollywood Boulevard, Hollywood 28, Calif.

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James Gow — In Memoriam

In memory of James Gow, the gifted progressive playwright who died February 11 at the age of 44, a generous contribution to our fighting fund came to the GUARDIAN last week. Gow was a charter subscriber to the GUARDIAN.

Collaborator with Arnaud d'Usseau on the successful Broadway plays **Tomorrow the World** and **Deep Are the Roots,** which dealt with the threats to humanity of Nazism and U. S. race prejudice, Gow was among the few American playwrights who have in recent years penetrated Broadway's silken curtain with plays attempting to deal seriously with life. **Deep Are the Roots,** in particular, was an international success and had long runs in Moscow and other cities of the socialist world.

Mourning his death, the GUARDIAN is moved and inspired by the decision of those close to him to commemorate him thus.

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"Longitude 49"

Live theater in a book

By Lawrence Emery

ONCE UPON A TIME there was a powerful theater in the U.S. It rarely found its way into the commercial Broadway houses; its home was in converted stables in Greenwich Village, in old lofts, in a thousand bare rooms across the land. The material it worked with was startlingly fresh, vivid and, above all, real; the essence was rebellion.

Anyone who saw a first production of **Stevedore,** for instance, in a by-passed 14th St. theater in New York, long since torn down to make way for a parking lot, will never forget how the audiences stood on their seats and cheered; **Waiting for Lefty** was performed to wild response by hundreds of acting groups all over the country. Then it seemed that the left-wing theater died.

THE WORLD OVER: But it is not dead; the tradition is still present and perhaps sharper and more perceptive than ever. A few seasons ago New Playwrights, Inc., came into being in New York, presented as its first production a play called **Longitude 49** by an author named Herb Tank. It played for three months in a small theater to overflow audiences, had a London production which was twice extended, is still playing after more than six months in one of the largest theaters in Berlin, won spectacular success in three cities in Czechoslovakia, is currently being readied for showing in Paris, Budapest, Israel and Australia.

For those who missed it (even for those who didn't) there is now compensation in its publication in book form by a new firm which announces its intention to present writings dealing with "freedom, justice and peace."

These definitely are the ingredients of the Herb Tank play. The action occurs aboard an outworn U. S. tanker docked in Abadan, Iran, trapped on a shuttle run between there and South Africa which, according to its officers, is in preparation for World War III.

A REAL PEOPLE: The crew is divided and unhappy; the division cuts three ways: old-timers who went through the turbulent struggles to organize the industry and are now tired and dispirited (one is punch-drunk from a going-over by cops during that period); youngsters who still must be taught the facts of life; and one in whom the old faith still burns. The latter is a Negro who has been elected the union delegate for the deck department. His cold-blooded murder by the company-minded first mate, with an assist from the company-minded captain, precipitates the rousing climax.

Tank's characters are real people, not painfully constructed abstractions; they drink, swear, fornicate and brawl. What he wants to say is conveyed in powerful dramatic terms, not in set speeches or lectures. If you did or did not see the play, you should by all means own the book.

LONGITUDE 49. By Herb Tank. Auvergne Publishers, 1081 Jerome Ave., N. Y. 52, N. Y. 88 pp. $1.50.

PEACE WILL WIN

Outstanding Joris Ivens film of Warsaw Peace Congress, now on 16mm. film, will be shown on the following dates. For information on renting the film for your community write: Peace Will Win, 17 Murray St., New York City 7.

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Fri., Mar. 21: JPFO Lodge No. 71, Menora Temple, 14 Av. at 50 St.
Fri., Mar. 21: Ridgewood ALP, 5539 Myrtle Av.
Fri., Mar. 28: E. Flatbush Club, 18th AD, 5105 Church Av. (upstairs)
Sat., Mar. 29: Kings Highway ALP, 927 Kings Highway

BRONX
Sun., Mar. 30: Club Bernie Nathanson, 868 E. 180th St.

LONG ISLAND
Mon., Mar. 24: Elmhurst Queens ALP, 92-16 Whitney Av., Apt. 304
Fri., Mar. 28: Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, Shadow Lawn Restaurant, 152 Greenwich St., Hempstead

SYRACUSE, N. Y.
Sat., Mar. 29: Syracuse ALP, 514 Harrison St.

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Fri., Mar. 28: Denver Friends of the National Guardian, Unitarian Church, 19th & Broadway, supper and show, 6:30 p.m.

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To A Friend
Keep It Moving!

From here to barbarity

BONN, GERMANY

THE magazine **Die Gegenwart** (The Present), which is very friendly to America, is horrified by a book that has achieved a phenomenal success in America and is now about to be published in German. The American title is **From Here to Eternity**; the German, **Damned in All Eternity**. The author is James Jones. The horror of **Gegenwart** is so great that its critic puts this label on the book: "Not to be read." Dispiritedly she adds: but Germans will read the book because we hit bottom a long time ago and we'll do what the rest does out of indifference and weakness.

We don't share this nihilistic apprehension of **Gegenwart.** We believe in the inner strength of our people: we believe that they have enough desire to live; that they will ward off the barbarisms that speak out of every page; that they recognize the danger that threatens them from America this very hour.

Gegenwart speaks of a "return to barbarism" and thinks that this may have some meaning in an America not yet completely free of its Puritanical heritage. We don't quite understand that sentence because we can't quite see how barbarism can be an antidote against puritanism. Be that as it may, we can't prevent America from sinking into barbarism through its worship of raw power. But we must prevent ourselves from being sacrificed to a barbaric imperialism.

For this reason we give our judgment on the book: You must read it; you must under any circumstance read it. It is perhaps the most important book that has recently appeared. You must bring its contents, which describe America, to the attention of our people and especially our youth. Our fight for peace and for the swift departure of the occupation powers finds full justification in this book. It is proof of the urgency of this demand. What threatens us from America is frightful. It is (remaining for caution's sake in the establishment of the **Gegenwart**) "the condition of complete barbarity."

—Wilhelm Karl Gerst

• Mr. Gerst, veteran Catholic newspaperman, publishes a Bonn newsletter (from which this is excerpted) which contributes to GUARDIAN coverage of West Germany.

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